9:Lawson Y-5 (ca.1940)1949 FT7 Yao FT7
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(*mtundu*, or among the Ngoni and the Nyanja influenced by them, *mfumba*),—say the Mwales'. His father is of another clan—as likely as not the Milanzis'—for it is considered incest for two Mwales to marry. He will tell you that he addresses every Mwale he meets, even a stranger from a far village, as "brother, sister, father, mother", (*achimwene*, *chemwali*, *atate*, *amai*) according to age and sex, and feels obliged to offer them help and hospitality—although this feeling is in most parts dying out. The Milanzis of his own generation whom he meets he considers in the same way as his cousins, (*asuwani*), and treats, or used to treat, with the same friendly familiarity as his real cross-cousins at his father's home village.

This extension of brotherhood to one's mother's, and cousinship to one's father's, whole clan, suggests that the Nyanja clans (into which possibly the Yao married) may have grown each out of an extended family group, (*mbumba*), living or travelling together. Cross-cousin marriage would follow naturally on friendship between two such nearby groups, for after a few generations of intermarriage the groups would become so connected that a man born into the one and marrying into the other would in actuality be marrying his cross-cousin. Moreover there is a tradition, at least among the Nyanja of Zomba District, which bears out the evidence of the relationship terms. Old people tell how the earliest leaders of their tribe entered the country, each surrounded by his *mbumba*, and settled first here then there ; they explain how each group came to be named, and how lasting friendship arose between the Amwale under Chief Mpoto and the Amilanzi under Chief Saima, and similarly between the Apiri and the Ankhoma, the Ambewe and the Achanza. Whatever truth lies behind this tradition, it is certain that to-day, however scattered the clans may be and however generally the young men reject cross-cousin marriage, yet a Mwale still calls "cousin" every Milanzi he meets and treats their women as potential mates ; and the same holds good between the Phiri and Nkhoma, Mbewe and Chanza clans.